Carangas-
Chipaya

/326 cont./

mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even Kečua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last detail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or formulas. If the Čipaya formerly did have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious term.

Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence. The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed real music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century. They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence. On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Aymara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

/345 cont./

kuntaña	suma	ora	resibitanta.	Lo mismo,	araxpača,	
I give thee	good	hour	receive.	Likewise,	sky,	
pobri	wakča	wawmat	aka	wakča,	Tatai,	istitai
poor	orphans	children	these	orphans,	Father,	hear me
kiku	suma	tiempo	apanital'a.	San Xeronimo.		
for them	good	weather	send me.	Saint Jerome.		

"Lord of the sky, send me good weather, good weather, master of the sky (send good weather) for all thy children. Likewise, /346/ Virgin-earth, thou who feedest me, thou wilt receive (these offerings) from all they children, from all the world. (In the name of) all the world, of they children, I give thee these heads of livestock, receive them under good protection. Likewise, o sky, we, poor orphans, are thy sons. Father, hear me on behalf of these orphans, send me good weather, Saint Jerome."

I succeeded in joining a group of Indians who were heading east of the village, going along the line of oratories and chapels of which I have spoken. The women had flowers stuck in their braids, and one of them was carrying a box which contained a papier-mâché effigy of Saint James on his horse. All, men and women, were holding a long stick topped with a cross surrounded with wool threads of different colors in their hands, and some also had brought their kaman-para, or sacred stick. They proceeded at a rapid pace to the sound of a drum which an old Indian was playing incessantly; I shall refer to him by the name Officiant from here on. It was actually he who carried out the chief rites.

In front of each of the altars which marked the plain in a straight line, the little band made a halt and kneeled down to recite a prayer in chorus. Then all went around the oratory several times on their knees with the exception of the Officiant, who remained in his place, beating frantically on his drum and loudly intoning a monotone Aymara song. Before setting out again, at a given

/358 cont./

*798 *796 [494] Several women came to add new tufts of red wool to the samiri, so much that the stones finally were no longer visible. At the same time the rest of the assembly drank, chewed coca, and exchanged the usual civilities.

Then several handfuls of khoa were lighted; they burned on the place of sacrifice all day.

[252] While these ceremonies were under way, several men and young girls were busying themselves at the side with the cooking. The victims were cut up, their bones crushed with a stone, and the entrails boiled in large receptacles of tin. Once cooked pieces [244] were carried to the assembled people in large clay dishes and distributed through the efforts of the Officiant, who first of all threw a few slices destined for the spirits and demons to the four cardinal points as if to mark the formula then uttered:

[539]

hal'pa	tija	mal'ku	resevita
pieces	these	demons	receive

"Demons, receive these pieces."

[242] This preliminary meal ended all began to drink and chew [533] coca again. From time to time the Officiant took one of the horns placed in front of the sheaves and drew muffled and distant sounds from it. He or some other qualified person recited rapid prayers *798 *796 without interruption, in which the names of the saints and of the 539 mal'ku were closely bound together. Here is one of them:

Haĉa-pakˣal'a-samiri		samanta
Samiri of the large livestock (llamas)		thou wilt stay
kulumay(u)-samiri	/359/ samanta	ˣital'a-samiri
samiri of the pigs	thou wilt rest	samiri of the sheep
samanta	hani-hewtiri	patakwaranka
thou wilt rest	in order not to die	hundred thousand (years?)

/360 cont./

to those who are near, to those who are far away, health to all, to those who are there, health, luck to the herds and flocks, demon, female demon, health, fortune, brrr."

Others contented themselves with enumerating in a loud voice the various types of vegetation that grow in Chipaya and assure the life of the flocks and, indirectly, that of the Čipaya: "Lurumpa-parwai'a, koiča-parwai'a, lumča-parwai'a, čunka-parwai'a, skawri-parwai'a, kapara-parwai'a, ulu-parwai'a, awa-parwai'a, waila-parwai'a, tola-parwai'a, wiču-parwai'a, kora-parwai'a, i'apa-parwai'a, kaču-parwai'a."

These recitations were interrupted by imitations of the noise of the wind which various people did by making their lips vibrate rapidly. From time to time some Indian would detach himself from the group to go offer a libation to the samiri or to offer them coca.

Toward the middle of the afternoon some women took out some boxes of quinua from their shawls, took them in their arms and went with them to kneel down facing the east and to pray for a rather long time. When they had finished they offered their boxes to the alferez and his wife, who thanked them and tied the stalks of quinua to the sheaves of straw.

This rite, the magico-religious significance of which is obvious, was followed by another, the character of which is no less apparent. The alferez wife, taking a handful of maize kernels in her mantle, showered them on the assembly, crying out: "They will sprout well, luck, luck," or: "weli, bindiiuna, hača paiča'a, bindiiuna, kulumayo, bindiiuna, čiwi'a." — "Offering, benediction, large livestock (llamas), benediction, pigs, benediction, sheep," and all rushed to gather them in the midst of general confusion. The slightest kernel was carefully kept as a relic.

The musicians, who up to this point had only made themselves heard at rare intervals, began to appear more active.

2:Méraux--84 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1938 SF24 Uro SF24

Caraques-
Chipaya

/360 cont./

The orchestra, composed of two quenas players, two tarca (flutes with mouthpieces) players, and one drummer, played the airs reproduced on the opposite page /see p. 85/ at various times.

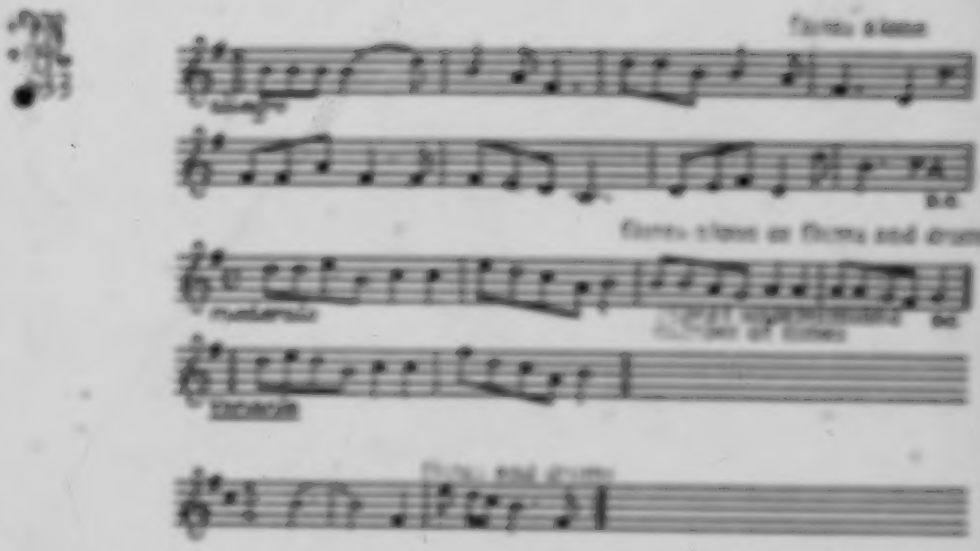
Shortly afterward the musicians got up to perform a dance, in which the alferez, his wife, and several others took part. Facing each other, they began by forming a circle around a glass of water put down by the Officiant. Immobile at first for a certain number of measures, they soon began to walk sideways in a circle in one direction, and then, /361/ at a sign from one of them, in the other direction. The dance ended as usual at the order of one of the players, who made a piercing sound with his instrument by stopping up all the holes at once. Soon all the musicians played the same note and the dance stopped. At other moments the tarka players formed in a row and advanced, made a half turn, and retraced their steps and performed evolutions by making veins around the circle of spectators. They carried out a series of directional changes from time to time with military precision. /Musical notation appears here./

The drum players did not respect the grouping followed by the flutists but revolved at the same time as the other musicians, i.e., when the latter had formed a circle, the drum players turned around them, and when the first outlined their one-step on the side, they turned in the direction indicated by the dance step. When the flutists were performing evolutions in a line, while changing direction, no precise placed seemed to be assigned to the drummer.

The dance step is a trotting walk on tiptoe allowing veins, the repetition of which is entirely left up to the dancer's initiative. These veins seem to be carried out successively in one direction and then in the other, after intervals of walking. The music, whose rhythm is difficult to make out, seems to constitute only an inducement to dance. In the course of the dance the dancers make gestures with their arms, which they hold apart from the body horizontally in order to bring them into a vertical position.

Afferaus--Gi E-5 (1950-1951) 1955, 1956 SPD4 Ura SPD4
Carnegie-
Lafayette

/361 cont./



Of course the ellroys are his wife, furnished with the white hermes, their insignia of office, [illegible] special seat /362/ and dowered with still the more enthusiasm for being rather ugly.

The Italian reminisce stated for hours, raucously exchanging [illegible] in the form of cicalate, ronzi, and rigiarre. The most frequent verbal civility consisted of uttering the word salute or salute ellroys ("Hallelujah ellroy"), which came common of the assembly

/264 cont./

They continued their orations, this time facing the alferez. They then walked around the gathering, greeting the men and the women and uttering a long string of wishes for each.

One of the hosts /?/, after long prayers and all sorts of gestures which were respectful in manner, carried one of the sheaves away. The other was given to the alferez, who kept it carefully in a corner of his hut.

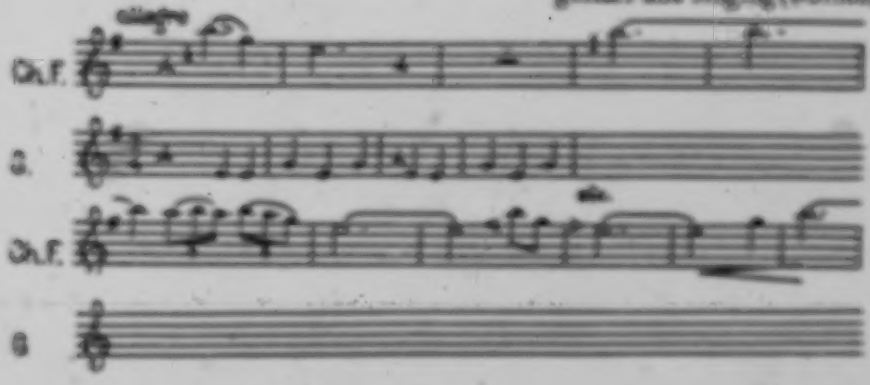
/265/ Several guitarists then began to play, solely for the pleasure of the audience. At a given moment, a very shrill head voice, plaintive and unmodulated, burst from the group of women. Others soon accompanied it on the same notes. It was a song without words, slow and melodious, with numerous inflections: the notes, often very prolonged, were followed by the accompanists. At moments when the song seemed to have died, it would break out again, taken up by other voices. This song, an approximate idea of which is given by the following notation, is emitted with the mouth shut. It undoubtedly serves as an incantation for, according to the musicians, it could be dedicated to llamas, male and female, and to pigs. One probably also exists for the sheep.

2:Métraux--91 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 ' SF24 Urn SF24
Carangas -
Chiquyac

/365 cont./

Song of the Pigs

Song of the Female Llama



Festival of the Seya Tanata (February 2, day of Candleman).

This festival was celebrated only by the seya tsanna. In the morning "the mass" took place, i.e., a procession in which the children, the alcalde, and a part of the members of the seya took part.

After remaining several moments in their chapel to say prayers and to perfume the altar with incense, the Indians came out abruptly in a group to form a procession which walked around the church, banners unfurled, to the sound of dance tunes played on the flutes of Pan.

Stanford--95 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SP34 Uru SP34
Cavengia--
Ch/page

/368 cont./

A notable detail is that during the whole day a little fire burned a few meters from the gathering.

The end of the ceremony was announced by the beating of a drum in a special rhythm.

Second day. In the afternoon the villeress, her son, and an Officiant met in front of their ayni's chapel. Not having been warned, I arrived at the place only at the moment when the latter had finished preparing the mixture destined to be offered as a libation. I have every reason to believe that the ingredients added to the water or to the chicha in the 16 small cupules were the same as in the previous festivals. As usual the Officiant had planted a sacred stick (kamac-pacu) garnished with a cross in front of him facing east. He offered up the customary libations on his knees. The contents of two phials were poured before the cross that stands about ten meters from the chapel door. The Officiant had put some coca leaves in two cupules probably containing alcohol, before pouring them as a libation in front of his stick. The priest, his helper, and two of those present knelt before the carpet and kissed the ground; then the Officiant, getting up, sprinkled the four corners of a little oratory situated near the chapel with chicha. A long prayer was then said, in which Christian saints were mingled with those of the ancestors, and the Officiant headed toward the chapel after having touched the oratory with his stick and kissing it devoutly. The villeress and her son went to pray on the steps of the chapel, and all began the usual drinking, congratulating and greeting each other.

The villeress had covered a small table with coca, where all came to help themselves /369/ in turn. Those who took this coca first touched the table with the hand and kissed it as a sign of respect.

The assembly, very sparse in the beginning, became more numerous, upon which the market of the electo took place. The Indians, both men and women, bought from each other small

Baldwin--97 0-1 (1930-1932) 1935, 1938 0754 (no 0754

Carnegie--
CA

/369 cont./

which he added silver leaf and paper plumules. The women, for their part, stretched garlands of bread rings and pieces of cheese and fruit to the festive altar, while keeping watch over the vegetables and grain which they were tending for the next day's feast. To encourage his helpers the alferez was generously giving an installment of the /371/ festival to come, and, therefore after therium, the alferez, officiant, and friends finally became drunk out of their minds.

During the night I was awakened by strange melodies which sometimes seemed very close to my hut, and sometimes vanished in the silence of the desert. Intrigued by these confused noises, I went outside and saw five or six young girls holding each other by the hand, led by a guitarist they were going through the village at raving speed, circling each hut. In spite of the rain, the cold, and the darkness of the night, they did not pause an instant to catch their breath; ever subtle, ever more monotonous melodies (transcribed below) were followed by intervals of silence and then taken up again a little later in the midst of pants of fatigue. In the huts and in the church, the Indians were offering up their libations, disfigured by their ponchos and heavy coverings. Silent and unmoving, illuminated by the dim lamps of their huts, they had the fantastic aspect of ghosts.

Kaduna—68 0-0 (1000-1001) 1001.1068 SFD4 Uru SFD4

Cavanga:—
Chijoya

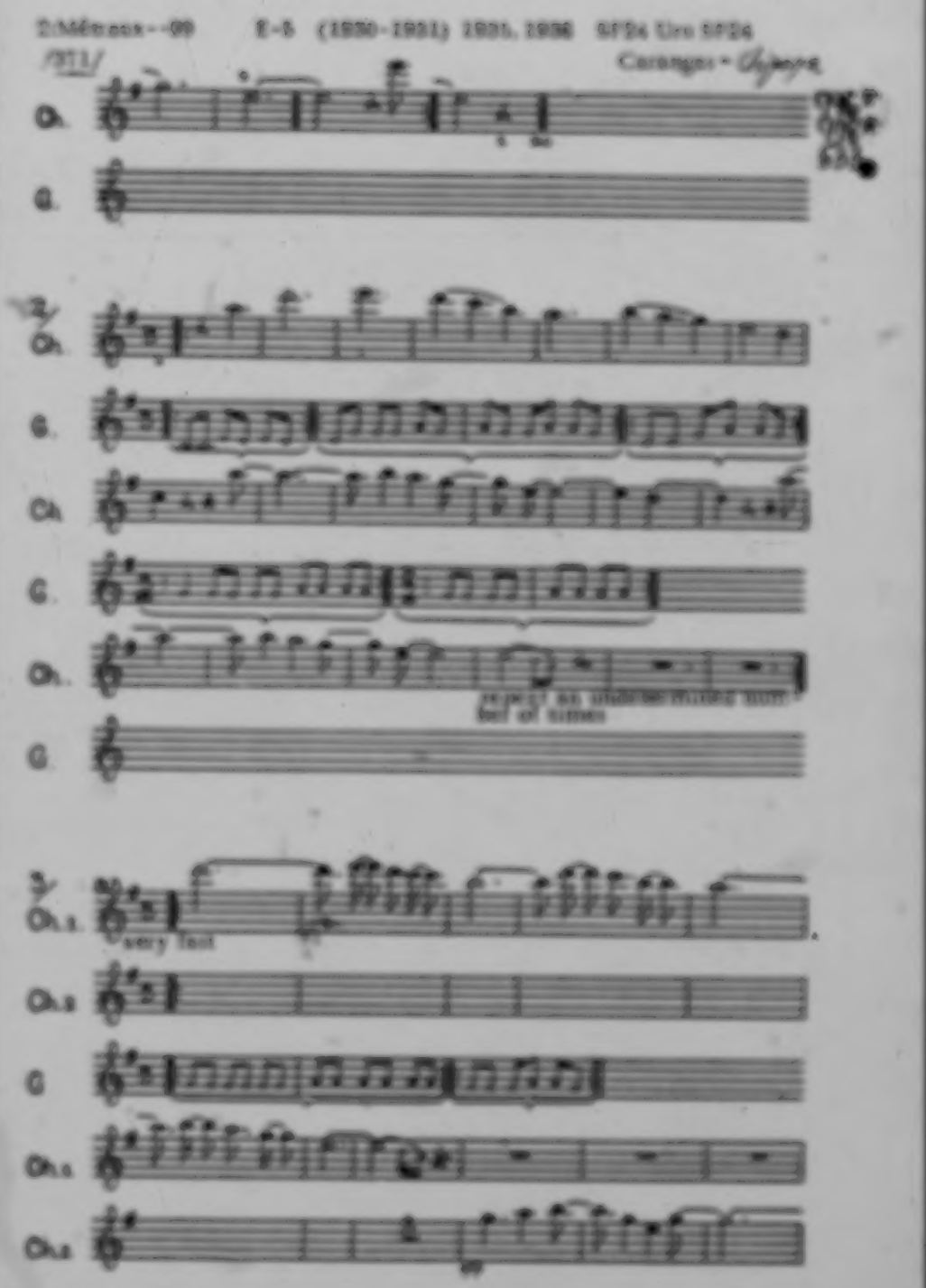
SFD 1001 /

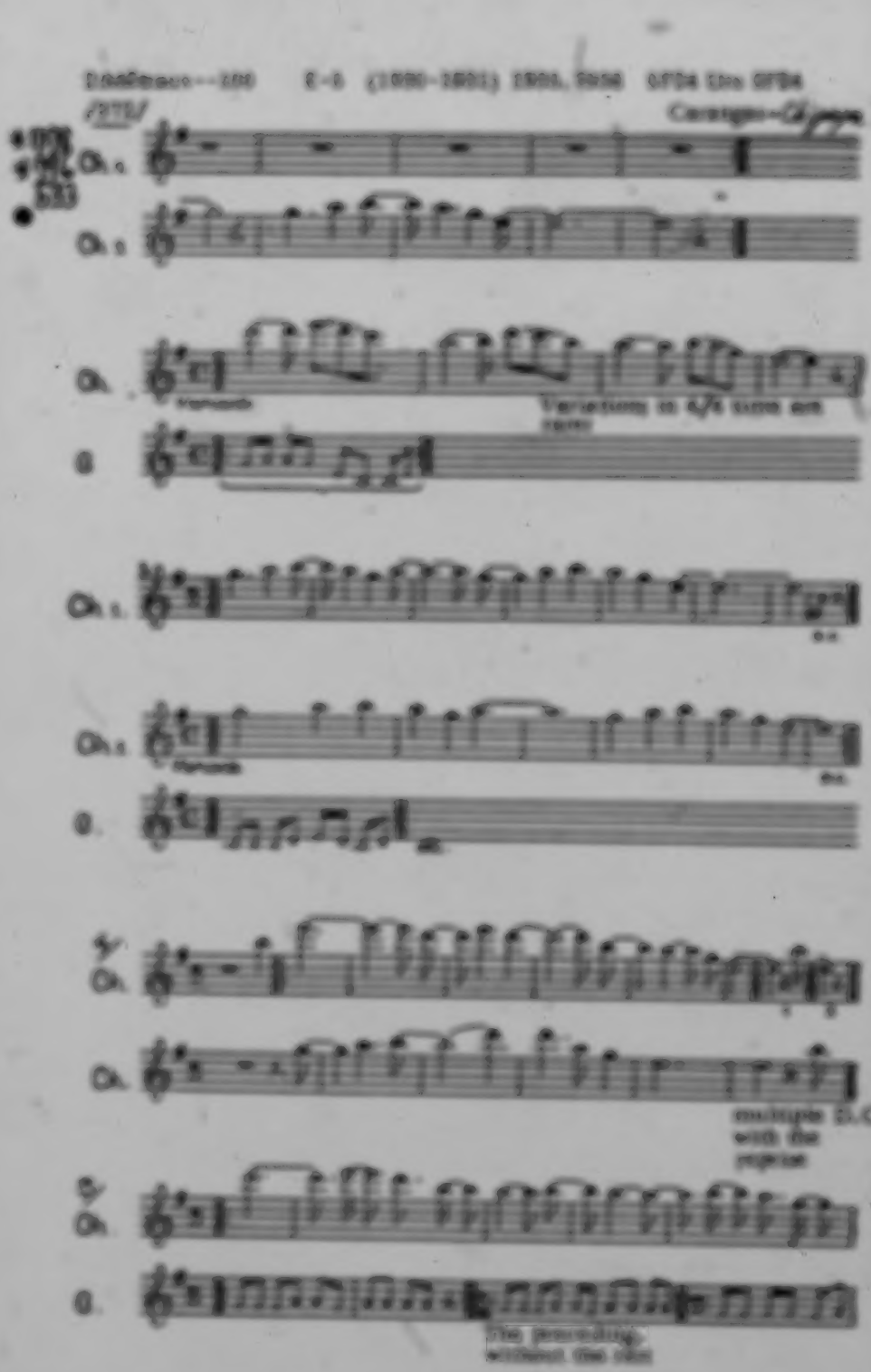
Translation of notes in the transcription of the first melody below are: behind half of melody, marked G., i.e. guitars: "Repeat an indefinite number of times before the start of the singing after each of the partial refrains 1a and b and the general refrain of the whole song. The repeats are done each time."

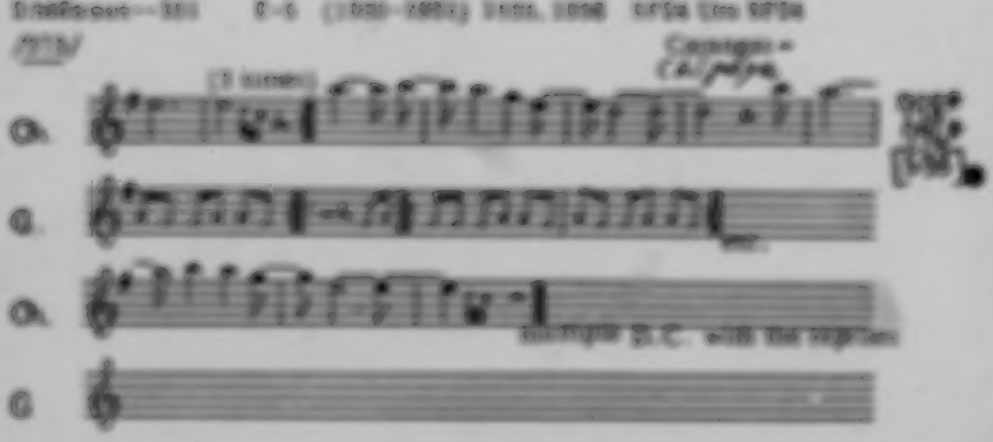
Sixth staff "same accompaniment of guitars."

G. (Chant "singing") marks the lines that are sung.

Singing (young girls) with guitar accompaniment


Cl.
G.
Cl.
G.
Cl.
C.
Cl.
G.
very fast
Cl.s
G
Cl.s
Cl.s


Variations in 6/8 time are here
multiple D.C. with the repeat
the preceding without the last



On the following day all are out early in order to reach the Eyewear-mal'ko situated 15 kilometers southeast of the village in the middle of a plain submerged by several days' rain. The flooded expanse went so vast that to maintain the offering, in agreement with the Officiant, decided to perform the festival in honor of the Eyewear-mal'ko near the Cumbrini-mal'ko. The rites would be the same but an offering would be made to the Cumbrini-mal'ko, and delegates would be sent to the Eyewear-mal'ko, among them the bearer, Espiritu Blanconi, to bring in the insertions of the victims, the bones, the necklaces of bread and of cheese, cane, Wine, and sugar. So that there would be no doubt as to who was the object of the festival, the Officiant and the participants always took great care during the rites which they performed to turn in the direction of the Eyewear-mal'ko, i.e., toward the southeast. Thus upon their arrival at the mal'ko's manual, for example, all knelt down, first toward the southeast, then toward the east, and finally in front of the cane representing the mal'ko. Likewise the Officiant, before offering up his libation threw his second stick into the ground facing the same cardinal point. The blood of the victims was, nevertheless, poured upon the Cumbrini-mal'ko, which was fumigated by all new arrivals (1).

1. When one arrives in front of the cane, one must kneel before it or touch it with one's hand and then kiss the latter.

Gardiner--102 0-5 (1930-1931) 1955.1936 5734 Izm 5734

Carnegie-
Cayuga

/211 cont./

The prayer which received most often on the Officiant's lips clearly indicated that the Sonowa-mai'ko alone was to receive the honors apparently being paid to his colleague:

Sonowa-mai'ko	hoshi	on	hongio	wnio
Trophies-demon	in this manner	then	to accomplish	I have

ki	gah ai'onno	gah ai'o	ray-laiko
come	three heads of livestock	heads of livestock	three far

hoin	ongwa	ohon-laiko	hoshi
married-persons	beside her		in this manner

hongiwaio /214/	hoshi	t'ega	hongoio
I have accomplished	in this manner	all	assembly

tgwa-sa0	hongiwaio	on-ki	mai'ko.
today	I accomplish	then	demon.

"Trophies-demon, I have come to acquire myself towards thee (by offering thee) three animals on behalf of our three kinds of farms and on behalf of married people. At this moment I have fulfilled my duty. at this moment, today, with the entire assembly I acquire myself towards thee, demon."

Aside from these insignificant details all the accessories of the festival of the nation figured in this one but with more abundance. The sheaves of straw were more numerous and more ornate than before, and had some parrot (flamingo) eggs placed on their tops.

I observed only one new rite: the prayer that the silleya and his wife made successively to the four cardinal points. At the moment when they got up to proceed to this duty, the fiutes began to play a melody backed by drumbeats. When they returned to the village in the evening, the silleya and silleyaa both had a tuft of straw on the back.

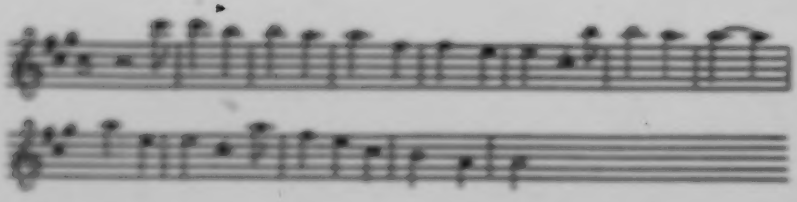
Goldman--110 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SP24 Uru SP24

Caranga s —
Chipaya

/379 cont./

As I said above religious or magical rites have only an insignificant place in this festival: the important survivals of paganism are displayed in the trappings of the participants (Pl. XIV, D /see p. 136/). The majority had put on around their bodies festive slings, whose fringes fashioned a motley costume for them. Some had encircled their heads with a kind of artificial hair made from horse hair (Pl. XVI, C /see p. 137/) or with crowns of flamingo feathers. The most original headdresses which I noticed were a few crowns made of flamingo eggs threaded together (Fig. 36."A /see p. 109/). A large part of the young people had water birds on their backs, attached by the straw boia which had killed them (Fig. 36, [illegible]). The alferez's and alferezas had loaded on their backs the sheaves of straw behind which they had pressed at the festivals of the various mal"ku and samiri. The latter were decorated with garlands of fruit, cheeses, and bread. Those who had not had the honor of being alferez were no less decorated with ornaments symbolizing prosperity and abundance.

Tunes of the Carnival Dances



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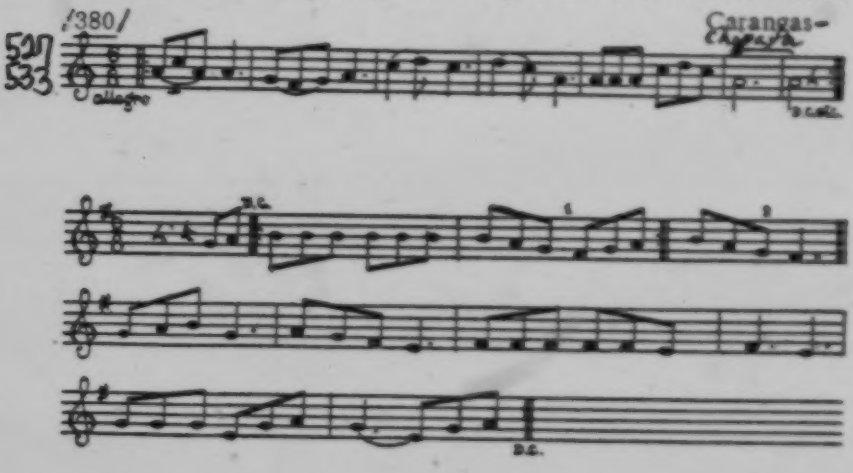

527 Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most
535 monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection
574 with the festival of the samiri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to
[616] everyone. Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

527 In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed
718 into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of
[529] straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the
[530] festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

527 The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week.
[533] At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few
[273] madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol
[54] did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not
[171] present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

/185 cont./

534 In La Musique des Incas /The Music of the Incas/,
113 R. d'Harcourt reproduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an identical construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

[237] While examining the contents of one of the huts that the Čipaya use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 8, G /see p. 173/). The block inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to here are locally produced, this is not the case with the pinkul'u, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are contrived on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 8, C presents one of these pinkul'u, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The

[171 839] Čipaya pinkul'u are identical and without doubt come from some Bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The tola flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these perfected instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

[178] The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uro-Čipaya dialect, täks, a generic designation for "flutes." These instruments are basically used for /186/ secular purposes and have no other end than to enliven festive days.

533 While there are very few Čipaya who know how to play the
535 quena, almost all the men have a flute with mouthpiece and take part in the concert which is organized on festive occasions. The dancers accompany themselves on this instrument even while executing intricate figures. During a religious ceremony the Indians may also play a little melody from time to time while seated.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*malku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-*malku*, Kemperani-*malku*, Estewan-*malku*), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-*malku*). The *samiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (*patio-malku*), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malkus* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

Tulane Caribbean 1-4 jan decay 1880 8754 Ure 8754
Chipaya

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *kenos de pino* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *cola de shrub*, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayra*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *malkus*; the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

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ratus; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Madre Mayor*. The other mallkus are represented by small conical and towers scattered around the cemetery-aisle. Sacred stone fetishes or *wanis* protect the prosperity of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; flowers and other fronds—symbols of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *mallcu*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the mallku stones and the *wanis* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land. [illegible]

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difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*piri*) and *bolas* (*ikawi*), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peks* (Aymará *pusipïa*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *p'ox*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the *yungas*. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusipïa* or *peks* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *kesana*, for carpets in "cholo" huts). These are exchanged for *t'axu*, *coca*, net-thread, *kaxawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*kesana* and *t'awara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organisation. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organisation is unfortunately very inexplicit. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: [illegible] are, Titicana, Konko, Kama, Kuipa.

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female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa ku; young girl = pax-pak-uk; young woman = ux.

Marriage. Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

Political Organization. If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *kilacata*, commonly called *alcate* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde*?) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *suratwičiki* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *kilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

Dances and Ceremonies. Bertonio[20] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *kuchku* (*kuču*) or *zi:a quirkitku* (*kirkiʼa*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilanta* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusipʼis* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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[20] Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.